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ABSTRACT

In this paper, trends in the occupational mobility of black and white men are compared. Emphasis was placed upon the effects of occupational origins on the changing occupation distributions of blacks and whites and with the possibility of convergence between the occupational mobility of blacks and whites. It was found that there has been some degree of convergence from 1962 to 1970 in the occupational distribution, due mainly to racial differences in changing effects of first occupation on current occupations. (DM)

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BLACK-WHITE DIFFERENTIALS IN OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG MEN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1962-1970

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Working Paper 72-32

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The use of occupation as an index of social standing requires little defense. Occupational employment is the principal activity of almost all adult males and a substantial minority of females in the U.S., and the importance and constancy of occupational rankings in regard to prestige and socioeconomic status are well-known. A report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights argues, "Advancement up the economic and social scale in our economy depends primarily on access to preferred jobs, and secondarily on control over property" (Ginzberg and Hiestand, 1968:2). In fact the economist Lester Thurow (1972) has characterized the U.S. labor market as functioning under a regime of "competition for jobs" rather than "competition for wages." Likewise, definition of the generation as the span over which mobility may occur rests on well-established sociological practice. To quote Ginzberg and Hiestand again, "No individual, much less a group, is likely to experience substantial changes in fortune and position from one year to the next, even from one quinquennium to the next. Mobility involves generational shifts - from fathers to sons and grandsons."

In March 1962 the Current Population Survey (CPS) supplement, "Occupational Changes in a Generation" (OCG), carried out under the direction of Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, yielded the first definitive measurements of patterns and trends in occupational mobility among U.S. males. Analyses of this survey of 20,700 males aged 20-64 established that there had been substantial upward mobility in the occupational hierarchy between generations. Further, by an ingenious arrangement of OCG, CPS and Census data it was possible to show that more recent cohorts enjoyed greater opportunities for movement into high status occupations

than their predecessors (Blau and Duncan, 1967:90-111; Duncan, 1965). Further analyses of the 1962 data by means of age-constant intercohort comparisons have suggested that improvements in occupational opportunities in the aggregrate have not been accompanied by substantial changes in the rigidity of occupational stratification (Duncan, 1968). That is, there has been no appreciable tightening or loosening of the regime connecting the occupations of men with those of their fathers.

In the past decade there has probably been as much concern about trends toward "rigidification" in American society as in any earlier period. Thus efforts to obtain new readings on trends in occupational mobility are surely in order. Definitive measurements of trend over the decade await the completion of a replication of the OCG survey, which is presently scheduled to be carried out in connection with the March 1973 Current Population Survey (Featherman and Hauser, 1973). However, by adaptation of a procedure used earlier by Duncan (1965), it is possible to obtain indirect evidence of changes in occupational mobility in the past decade.

In an earlier paper we looked at trends in occupational mobility for U.S. men during 1962-1970 without regard to race (Hauser and Featherman, 1972). Our major findings were that there have been net intercohort shifts toward employment as salaried professionals and managers and as skilled manual workers and away from employment as self-employed managers, as farmers, and as nonfarm laborers. Further, those net shifts were primarily a result of changes in patterns of occupational mobility from first jobs to current occupations. That is, the shifts were not effected by changes in the occupational origins of successive cohorts or by changes in relationships between occupational origins and first jobs.

In this paper we compare trends in the occupational mobility of black and white men from 1962 to 1970 in the United States. Relatively little is known about the occupational mobility of black men at any point in time, and still less is known about trends in mobility among blacks. Our knowledge about black-white differences in patterns of occupational mobility rests heavily on the results of the 1962 OCG survey, within which the numbers of blacks sampled was too small to permit reliable trend measurement by means of intercohort comparison. From his analysis of the 1962 black and white mobility matrices Duncan (1968:11) concludes, "Negro men who originated at the lower levels were likely to remain there; white men were likely to move up. Negro men who originated at the higher levels were likely to move down; white men were likely to stay there. Although Negro social origins are not as favorable as those of whites, this is the lesser part of the explanation of racial differences in occupational achievement. The greater part of the explanation lies in inequalities within the process of mobility itself." Similarly, Lieberson and Fuguitt (1967) demonstrate that the effects of social origins on racial differences in occupations would greatly decrease in a single generation and would almost disappear within about four generations if the patterns of intergenerational mobility of blacks and whites were equated.

Public programs grew during the 1960's which were supposed to improve the opportunities of blacks, and there is some evidence of improvement in the occupation distribution of employed black men during that decade. For example, a report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1972) shows in bright-hued charts how "opportunities for occupational advancement of black workers have been improving.... between 1960 and 1970, the number of

black workers in higher-paid and middle-level occupations increased sharply" (p. 2). Farley and Hermalin (1972) report a gradual upgrading of the occupation distribution of both black and white men from 1960 through 1966, followed by large gains for blacks between 1966 and 1970. Thus, the share of black men who would have had to change major occupation categories to equate the black and white distributions fell from 38 percent in 1960 to 36 percent in 1966 and to 31 percent in 1970. The large remaining occupational differences between the races give little ground for complacency among those who would seek equality of achievement between the races.

In our analysis of black-white differentials in trends of occupational mobility we shall be concerned with the effects of occupational origins on the changing occupation distributions of blacks and whites and with the possibility of convergence between the occupational mobility patterns of blacks and whites. We begin with an examination by race of net occupational shifts between selected cohorts from 1962 to 1970. We then analyze these shifts within each race in terms of components due to changing social origins, changes in patterns of mobility from occupational origins to first jobs, and changes in mobility from first jobs to current occupations. Next, we look at the racial differences in net occupational shifts between cohorts, and we interpret these differential trends in light of the components developed earlier. Finally, we ask whether current patterns of occupational mobility among blacks are similar to those prevailing among whites at an earlier point in time.

Methods

Following Duncan's (1965) notation, we let $P = (p_{ij})$ be the transition matrix of an intergenerational occupational mobility table. Then,

its elements represent the probability of a son's movement from the i^{th} category of father's occupation to a current occupation in the j^{th} category. Clearly, $\Sigma_j p_{ij} = 1.0$. Let $A = (a_i)$ be the origin vector of the mobility table, a row vector which gives the proportion of men who originate in the i^{th} occupation class, $\Sigma_i a_i = 1.0$, and let $C = (c_j)$ be the vector which gives the proportionate distribution of men over destination categories, $\Sigma_j c_j = 1.0$. Thus, we have the identity, $C = AP$. Likewise, we may also write $C = BQ$, where C is defined as before, while B is the vector of occupations of men in their first full-time jobs, and Q represents the matrix of transition probabilities from first to current jobs.

We use functional notation to identify the vectors and matrices of men in a given cohort observed in a particular year. Thus, $C(r,s)$ is the occupation distribution of men in the r^{th} cohort in the s^{th} year, and so on. For a selected cohort and year, then, the transition from fathers' to current occupation distributions takes the form $C(r,s) = A(r,s)\ P(r,s)$. From the OCG survey we have estimates of C, A, P, B, and Q for cohorts within ages 20-64 in 1962. First full-time civilian occupation and father's occupation at son's age 16 were ascertained in the OCG supplement, while current occupation was ascertained in the regular March CPS interview. In using race as a variable we take "blacks" to mean persons identified as Negroes by the Bureau of the Census, and we use "white" for non-Negroes, who include a small proportion of non-Negro nonwhites.

In order to make inferences about changes over time in P and Q we make the following assumptions: that within the prime working ages cohorts of U.S. males are closed with respect to mortality and net migration, and that the quality of data on current occupation, father's occupation, and first job does not vary with age or time. In order to maintain coverage

of all men we treat "no occupation reported" as a separate category of the origin vectors (father's occupation or first jobs) and "not in the experienced civilian labor force" as a destination category. The latter class includes unemployed men who have never held a job as well as men who are neither employed nor looking for work. There is no category for nonreported current occupations because the U.S. Bureau of the Census allocates occupation titles in such cases by means of a "hot deck" technique.

These assumptions have two pertinent consequences. First, for men born in year r, $A(r,s+t) = A(r,s)$ and $B(r,s+t) = B(r,s)$, where t may be greater or less than zero. This says that we may use the 1962 survey to estimate the origin vectors observed in any year for cohorts covered in the 1962 survey. Second, the assumptions imply that it is legitimate to compare observed destination distributions across years. Thus, we can make the age-constant intercohort comparison, $C(r,s)$ with $C(r+t,s+t)$, or the intracohort comparison $C(r,s)$ with $C(r,s+t)$. Obviously, our assumptions are not perfectly met, either as to population coverage or response quality, and our inferences are subject to substantial risks of measurement error.

Granting our assumptions, it becomes possible to make inferences about intercohort change in a mobility matrix. Consider the null hypothesis $P(r,1962) = P(r+t,1962+t)$, where we have observed only $P(r,1962)$. This says that the mobility matrix for men aged $(1962-r)$ is unchanged t years later (or earlier). Under the null hypothesis we may write

$$C(r+t,1962+t) = A(r+t,1962+t)\ P(r+t,1962+t)$$
$$= A(r+t,1962+t)\ P(r,1962),$$

which we can estimate by

$$_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,1962+t) = A(r+t,1962)\ P(r,1962),$$

since A(r+t,1962+t) = A(r+t,1962) by assumption. We denote our estimate of the expected distribution here by $_{P}\hat{C}(r,s)$ in order to differentiate it from $_{Q}\hat{C}(r,s)$, the estimate based on the first job vector and the transition from first to current occupation. For example, we can estimate the 1972 occupation distribution (at age 35-44) of men born in 1927-36 (aged 25-34 in 1962) by applying the 1962 intergeneration transition matrix of men born in 1917-26 (aged 35-44 in 1962) to the origin vector of the younger cohort. The same logic applies to hypotheses about intercohort change in the intragenerational mobility matrix. Of course, this procedure is simply an application of the common demographic technique of indirect standardization based on the 1962 occupational mobility rates.

Comparisons among expected and observed distribution for recent years permit us to make limited inferences about change in mobility matrices in the past decade. While identity of destination vectors does not imply identity of transition matrices, differences between destination vectors clearly imply rejection of the null hypothesis (subject to the possibility that internal changes in the matrix are due solely to changes in the marginals and not at all to changes in interactions between rows and columns of the matrix).

In his 1965 paper Duncan used this procedure to measure trends from 1932 through 1962. That is, he applied the 1962 matrix for a younger cohort to the origin distribution of a cohort 10, 20 or 30 years older to obtain an expected occupation distribution of the older cohort when it was 10, 20, or 30 years younger. Following Duncan's proposal (1965: 493-494) that his procedure also be used projectively, we have applied

transition matrices for older cohorts to the origin vectors of younger cohorts to obtain expected destination vectors for them in later years.

Using the destination vectors estimated from inter- and intra-generational mobility, it is possible to partition the net intercohort differences in occupation distributions for men of the same age into components attributable to intercohort changes in occupational origins, in the transition from father's occupation to first job, and in the transition from first job to current occupation. The necessary identity is

$$\begin{aligned} C(r+t,s+t) - C(r,s) = {} & [C(r+t,s+t) - {}_{Q}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t)] \\ & + [{}_{Q}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) - {}_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t)] \\ & + [{}_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) - C(r,s)]. \end{aligned}$$

The two terms in the first bracket on the right differ only because of intercohort differences in the transition matrix from first job to current occupation. That is,

$$C(r+t,s+t) = B(r+t,s+t)\ Q(r+t,s+t),$$

while

$${}_{Q}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) = B(r+t,s)\ Q(r,s).$$

Thus, since $B(r+t,s) = B(r+t,s+t)$ by assumption, the difference between $C(r+t,s+t)$ and ${}_{Q}C(r+t,s+t)$ is the effect of intercohort change in the transition from first job to current occupation on the net intercohort difference. To interpret the difference in the second bracket denote the transition matrix from father's occupation to first job as $M(r,s)$. Then

$$P(r,s) = M(r,s)\ Q(r,s),$$

so

$${}_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) = A(r+t,s)\ M(r,s)\ Q(r,s).$$

Also,

$$_{Q}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) = A(r+t,s)\ M(r+t,s+t)\ Q(r,s)$$

since

$$B(r+t,s) = A(r+t,s)\ M(r+t,s+t)$$

by assumption. Thus, $_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t)$ and $_{Q}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t)$ differ only because of intercohort change in the transition from father's occupation to first job, and their difference represents the effect of that change on the net intercohort difference.

Finally, $C(r,s) = A(r,s)\ P(r,s)$, while $_{P}\hat{C}(r+t,s+t) = A(r+t,s)\ P(r,s)$, which differs from the first expression only by virtue of changes between cohorts in the vector of occupational origins. Thus, the difference between the terms in the third bracket is the effect on the net intercohort difference of the intercohort shift in the distribution of sons by their fathers' occupations.

Because the Current Population Survey began using 1970 Census occupational coding materials in January 1971 (Bregger, 1971), observed occupation distributions after that date are not strictly comparable with our expected distributions. Fortunately, the data required to reconcile 1962 and 1972 occupation classifications by sex are now available (Priebe, Heinkel and Greene, 1972), and we shall be able to extend our trend analysis to 1972 soon after the March 1972 CPS person tape is released to the public. One procedural change in occupational measurement (for which we have made no adjustment in the tables) was the improved measurement of self-employment begun in January 1967 (Stein, 1967). Unfortunately, published tabulations permit no firm conclusion as to the effect of this change on the occupation distribution, but an examination of the annual series of occupation distributions before and after the change suggests

that its main effect on our classification was to shift about one percent of employed persons from the self-employed to salaried status among managers, officials and proprietors.

Had we been limited to tabulations by standard 10-year age-breaks, our efforts would have been stymied by the lack of 1972 data. However, since we have access to unit record tapes of the OCG survey, we have proceeded to make trend comparisons over a shorter period by varying the age-breaks in our origin vectors. Specifically, we have applied the transition matrices for those aged 35-44, 45-54, and 55-64 in 1962 to the origin vectors of those aged 27-36, 37-46, and 47-56 in March 1962 in order to generate expected distributions for men aged 35-44, 45-54, and 55-64 in March 1970. We obtained observed distributions in 1970 from the March 1970 Current Population Survey person tape. In passing we should note that with freedom to vary age-breaks in both the OCG and CPS tabulations it is possible to make annual trend measurements at any desired ages.

Net Intercohort Occupation Shifts

The occupation distributions of black and white men aged 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64 in 1962 and in 1970 are compared in Table 1. The percentages in Table 1 and throughout the paper should be interpreted with caution, particularly in the case of blacks, where they are based on relatively small numbers of sample cases. For example the overall sampling fraction was about 1 in 2200 in 1962 and about 1 in 1300 in 1970, so the 1,030,000 black men aged 35-44 in 1962 and (coincidentally) in 1970 are represented by about 475 cases in the 1962 sample and about 792 cases in the 1970 sample. Moreover, the sampling design of the Current Population Survey is somewhat less efficient than simple random sampling.

Table 1 about here

For the black men aged 35-44 there were net shifts between 1962 and 1970 toward employment as salaried professionals or managers, skilled workers in manufacturing and construction, and as semi-skilled workers. At these ages there were net shifts away from employment as skilled workers outside of manufacturing and construction, service workers, laborers outside of manufacturing, and as farmers or farm laborers. Given the classification change noted above, we expect that some of the movement into the ranks of salaried managers represents a shift toward managerial occupations classified as self-employed in 1962. At ages 45-54 the net intercohort shifts are much like those for the younger men except there was no net shift into managerial occupation, there was a shift toward clerical occupations, and the movement away from laboring occupations extended to manufacturing as well as non-manufacturing industries. Among black men aged 55-64 there were net shifts toward employment as salaried professionals, self-employed managers (despite the classification change) and skilled workers (especially in manufacturing), and there were net shifts away from employment as operatives in manufacturing, service workers, laborers outside manufacturing, and farmers or farm laborers. The pattern of net shifts varies among the age-groups, partly as a function of the limited sample size, but there is a common element of shifts away from employment in farm and service occupations and in laboring jobs outside of manufacturing and of shifts toward employment in semi-skilled non-manufacturing occupations, in skilled manufacturing and construction occupations, and in salaried professional and technical occupations.

Among whites (non-Negroes) aged 35-44 there were shifts toward employment as salaried professional and managerial workers, skilled workers in manufacturing and construction, and operatives outside of manufacturing, and there were shifts away from employment as self-employed managers, as skilled workers outside of manufacturing and construction, as operatives in manufacturing, and as laborers or farmers. Virtually the same pattern was followed among whites at ages 35-54, and in both of those age-groups the shifts out of self-employment and into salaried employment among managers were too large to have been produced by the classification change. A similar pattern was also followed at ages 55-64, except there was a smaller shift into employment as salaried professionals and managers.

Comparing the net shifts of whites and blacks, we find a shared pattern of shifts toward salaried professional and managerial occupations, skilled work in manufacturing and construction and semi-skilled work outside of manufacturing, and shifts away from laboring and farm occupations. The latter are less important for whites than for blacks, and the positive net shifts among whites were made possible by shifts out of proprietorship, skilled work outside of manufacturing and construction, and semi-skilled manufacturing work, which had no counterpart among blacks. Among white and black men at each age, there was also a tendency for more men to be out of the labor force (Other) in 1970 than in 1962.

While our calculation of percentage point differences is appropriate for measuring change in the occupation distribution, it should be kept in mind that important patterns of growth or decline in the occupation groups are represented here by small shifts in percentages. For example, among blacks aged 35-44 the shifts of 2.5 percentage points into salaried professional occupations and of 4.3 percentage points into skilled

manufacturing occupations each represent a doubling of the earlier share of blacks in those occupations. Likewise, the movement out of farm occupations among blacks and whites at all ages represents a great reduction in the proportion of farm employment, and at younger ages it virtually eliminates movement from farm occupations as a source of future net shifts in the occupation distribution.

Components of Intercohort Change

Our method of computing components of intercohort change in occupation distributions assumes no movement into or out of the civilian noninstitutional population between periods for cohorts covered in the 1962 OCG survey. Strictly speaking, our results will be affected to the extent that mortality, immigration and emigration, movement into and out of the armed forces, and changes in survey coverage are non-random with respect to occupation. While we have no means of assessing the effect of each of these sources of error, we can measure their combined net influence on the number of men in three cohorts of interest.

Table 2 about here

In Table 2 we show the numbers of black and white men in the cohorts aged 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64 in 1970, as estimated in the Current Population Surveys of March 1962 and March 1970. There are increased numbers over the eight year period in the youngest cohort, slightly decreased numbers in the middle cohort, and substantially decreased numbers in the oldest cohort. If we take these net changes to be indicative of patterns of gross change as well, we may have greatest confidence in the results for younger cohorts of whites and for the middle cohort of blacks. We may

speculate that the increased numbers from ages 27-36 (in 1962) to 35-44 (in 1970) represent a return to civilian life from the armed forces and, especially for blacks, improvement in survey coverage. We attribute the declining numbers in the older cohorts to mortality, and the losses in the cohort aged 55-64 in 1970 must be viewed as a serious threat to the validity of our calculations.

In Table 3 we show components of intercohort change in the occupation distributions of black and white men which are attributable to shifts in occupational origins, changes in the relationships between occupational origins and first occupations, and changes in the relationships between first jobs and current occupations. Except in the case of black men aged 35-44, the first two components are generally quite small, and the third component presents a pattern which is quite similar to that of the intercohort net shifts described above. Thus, for five of the six age-

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Table 3 about here

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by-race groupings net intercohort shifts in the occupation distribution between 1962 and 1970 are due primarily to changes in the relationship between first and current occupations.

These results are summarized by an array of indexes of dissimilarity in Table 4. The index of dissimilarity is the sum of positive (or negative) percentage point differences between entries in two percentage distributions, and it may be interpreted as the percentage of persons in one distribution who would have to change categories in order to equate the two distributions. Since our components of change are percentage point differences between distributions, the index of dissimilarity is a natural summary measure.

Table 4 about here

If intercohort shifts in the occupational structure were accomplished efficiently in the sense that all nonzero components of change in each occupation were of the same sign, the indexes of dissimilarity for the several components of change would add to the index for total intercohort change. Thus, the indexes of dissimilarity permit us to compare the amount of occupational redistribution due to each component of intercohort change and to measure the efficiency with which occupational redistribution takes place.

For example, looking at 35-44 year old whites, we see that only a 1.7 percentage point redistribution of occupations between 1962 and 1970 is attributable to changes between cohorts in occupational origins. Similarly, a 1.5 percentage point redistribution is attributable to changes in patterns of transition from occupational origins to first occupations, but a 12.7 percentage point redistribution is due to changes in the pattern of transitions from first to current occupations. The indexes of dissimilarity for these three components of change add to 15.9, which is only 2.3 percentage points larger than the index of dissimilarity for the total intercohort shift between 1962 and 1970. Thus, the occupation shifts due to the last component of change are far larger than those of the first two, and there is relatively little waste motion in the transformation of the occupation distribution from one period to the next.

The pattern just described is replicated among whites and blacks at ages 45-54 and 55-64, except the index of dissimilarity for each component of change is larger for blacks than for whites. We attribute

the larger indexes among these blacks to the greater sampling variability in the data for them than in the data for whites. However, since there are fewer black men at older than at younger ages, it is difficult to ascribe to sampling error the indexes of 6.1 and 8.3 for black men aged 35-44. In that age group we find the largest indexes for the components of change due to occupational origins and to transitions from origins to first occupations. While the index for change in the transition from first to current occupations is smaller than in the other age groups of blacks, the sum of the indexes for the three components of change is about one and three-fourths as large as the index for total intercohort change. While the first to current occupation transition is still the largest component of intercohort change, the younger black men show patterns of intercohort change in occupation distribution which are different from those of older black men and different from those of white men at any age.

It is difficult to offer a convincing interpretation of the components of intercohort change among the young blacks, and it may be that the observed components are artifacts of changes in coverage in CPS between age 27-36 and 35-44. Intercohort changes in occupational origins increased the likelihood of employment in salaried professional work, retail sales, and in semi-skilled manufacturing work, and they decreased the likelihood of employment in clerical or service work, in laboring occupations outside of manufacturing, and in farm work. Thus, changes in occupational origins did not clearly lead either to an improvement or to degradation of the occupational standing of young black men. Changes in the relationship between occupational origins and first jobs increased the chance that a young black man would be in a managerial, clerical or service occupation, and they decreased

his chance of being a salaried professional, a retail sales worker, a skilled worker outside of manufacturing, or a farmer. Thus, the first two components of change contributed offsetting tendencies in the employment of salaried professionals, clerks, retail sales workers and service workers. Finally, changes in the pattern of transition from first to current occupations tended to increase the chances of employment in salaried professional and managerial occupations, in skilled manufacturing and construction work, in semi-skilled work and in manufacturing labor and to decrease the chances of employment in clerical work, in skilled work outside of manufacturing and construction, in service work, in non-manufacturing labor and in farm work.

Racial Differentials in Occupation

In Table 5 we show percentage point differences between the black and white occupation distributions by age in 1962 and 1970. In so doing we have subtracted the percentages in the black distributions from those in the white, so a positive signed difference indicates a greater share of

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Table 5 about here

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whites than of blacks in an occupation group. The racial differentials in occupation are generally consistent across ages and persistent over the 8 year period from 1962 to 1970. At both points in time and at each age whites were more likely than blacks to be employed as professionals, managers, sales workers, skilled workers, and farmers and farm managers, and whites were less likely than blacks to be employed as semi-skilled workers, service workers, laborers, and farm laborers, and whites were less likely to be out of the labor force. Only among clerical workers is

there less than perfect consistency and persistence. There, blacks are under-represented at ages 35-44 in 1960 and 1970 and at ages 45-54 in 1970, and blacks are over-represented at ages 45-54 in 1962 and at ages 55-64 in 1962 and 1970.

Table 5 also shows changes in the percentage point differences between the races from 1962 to 1970 for each occupation at each age. For occupation categories where whites are over-represented a negative change indicates increasing similarity in the occupation distributions of blacks and whites, and for categories where blacks are over-represented a positive change indicates increasing similarity between the races. At ages 35-44 the black and white distributions became more similar in respect to the relative numbers in managerial self-employment, non-retail sales, skilled work, service work, unskilled labor outside of manufacturing, and farm labor, and the two distributions became less similar in respect to employment as salaried professionals and managers, clerical work, retail sales, semi-skilled work, unskilled labor in manufacturing, farming and being out of the labor force. Essentially the same pattern of divergence and convergence was followed at ages 45-54, except the share of blacks and whites in unskilled manufacturing work converged. At ages 55-64 the shares of blacks and whites became more similar in professional work, among self-employed managers, in skilled work outside of construction, in service work, in unskilled labor outside of manufacturing, in farm occupations, and in respect to presence in the labor force; the distributions became less similar with respect to the shares employed as salaried managers, sales workers, semi-skilled workers outside of manufacturing, and unskilled laborers in manufacturing.

Taking all occupations into account, there was a modest increase in the similarity of the occupation distributions of blacks and whites at each age between 1962 and 1970. At ages 35-44 the index of dissimilarity fell from 39.0 to 35.3, at ages 45-54 from 46.0 to 39.4, and at ages 55-64 from 45.7 to 32.0.

Components of Change Between Races

Table 6 gives an accounting of the changes in racial differentials in the occupation distribution in terms of the components of change which we developed above for each race. For example, at ages 45-54 the convergence of 3.62 points of the percentage in service work is attributable mainly to effects of change in the transition from first to current occupations (2.78 points) and to a lesser degree to change in the transition from occupational origins to first jobs (0.79 points), but the changed racial difference is unaffected by changes in occupational origins. Rather than

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Tables 6 and 7 about here

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explicating these components in detail, we summarize the results for each age with the sums of positive percentage point differences reported in Table 7. The entries in Table 7 are interpreted like the indexes of dissimilarity reported above, except they are computed from differences between percentage point differences, rather than differences between percentage points. As in the case of intercohort changes within each race, the largest contribution to changing racial differentials in occupations is made by changed differences between the races in the effects of first on current occupations. At ages 45-54 and 55-64 the components of racial change due to changes in the transition from first to current jobs

are nearly as large as the total intercohort change in the difference between the races. At those ages the effects of the three components of intercohort change come closer to adding to the total intercohort change than at ages 35-44. There, the effect of the first to current occupation transition on racial differentials is again as large as the total intercohort change, but the other two components of change are also larger, and the sum of effects of component changes is almost twice as large as that required to effect the intercohort change in the difference between blacks and whites.

In summary, there has been some degree of convergence from 1962 to 1970 in the occupation distributions of black and white men, and this is due mainly to racial differences in changing effects of first on current occupations. This gives us some reason to look forward to the more detailed analyses of changing effects of social background and schooling on occupational achievement which will become possible with the replication of the Blau-Duncan survey in 1973.

Whites in 1962 and Blacks in 1970

In light of the apparent, if modest, changes in the black and white transition matrices since 1962 we thought it would be useful to ask whether the 1970 black occupational transition matrices gave black men better occupational chances than the 1962 matrices for white men of the same age. Thus, we applied the 1962 transition matrices for white men to the occupational origins of black men of appropriate ages in the 1962 survey and compared the resulting hypothetical destination vectors with the observed 1970 occupation distributions of the same cohorts of black men. These comparisons are shown in Table 8 by age for hypothetical calculations carried out using intergeneration and intrageneration

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Table 8 about here

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transition matrices of whites. Relative to the hypothetical calculations using either set of matrices, blacks are under-represented in professional and managerial occupations, in sales work, in skilled work, and in farming, and they are over-represented in clerical work (except at ages 55-64), in semi-skilled work (except at ages 55-64), in service work, and in nonfarm and farm labor. Further, blacks are more likely to be out of the labor force than if they enjoyed the mobility chances of whites in 1962. In our view it does not take a very sophisticated view of the occupational hierarchy to suggest that in spite of some gains the mobility chances of blacks in 1970 are less favorable than those of white men of the same age in 1962. This observation is reinforced by a comparison of the indexes of dissimilarity in Table 8 with those between the races reported above; the difference in occupation distributions between blacks in 1970 with their own pattern of occupational mobility and with the patterns of occupational mobility enjoyed by whites in 1962 is nearly as large as the difference between the actual occupation distributions of black and white men in 1970.

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Table 1.--Percentage distribution by occupation and net change, 1962-1970, by age by race: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change
			Negro						
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	0.19	0.29	0.10	0.28	0.42	0.14	0.26	0.25	-0.01
Salaried	2.32	4.84	2.52	1.21	2.98	1.77	1.97	3.77	1.80
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	1.28	3.50	2.22	0.85	1.82	0.97	0.81	1.33	0.52
Self-employed	1.74	1.80	0.06	2.89	1.52	-1.37	0.52	3.51	2.99
Clerical and kindred workers	6.90	6.81	-0.09	3.94	7.74	3.80	2.14	2.72	0.58
Sales workers									
Retail	1.05	0.20	-0.85	0.20	0.46	0.26	0.00	0.44	0.44
Other	0.00	0.76	0.76	0.24	0.00	-0.24	0.00	0.17	0.17
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	3.86	8.20	4.34	3.22	6.55	3.33	0.76	6.45	5.69
Construction	4.17	5.67	1.50	1.90	6.03	4.13	3.41	4.34	0.93
Other	4.87	3.06	-1.81	3.36	2.14	-1.22	2.19	3.02	0.83
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	12.13	14.78	2.65	10.55	11.52	0.97	8.54	6.44	-2.10
Other	9.13	11.61	2.48	12.25	14.32	2.07	9.02	11.77	2.75
Service workers, including private household	13.76	7.80	-5.96	15.48	11.09	-4.39	18.52	12.53	-5.99
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	5.82	6.54	0.72	7.09	3.83	-3.25	3.74	4.11	0.37
Other	19.08	14.07	-5.01	17.40	11.89	-5.51	14.75	9.93	-4.82
Farmers and farm managers	3.40	0.50	-2.90	4.24	1.45	-2.79	4.34	2.11	-2.23
Farm laborers and foremen	4.18	2.11	-2.07	3.70	2.20	-1.50	6.92	4.08	-2.84
Other	6.11	7.43	1.32	11.18	14.05	2.87	22.11	23.04	0.93
Total	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00	
Number (1,000)	1,030	1,030		881	956		631	710	

(continued)

Table 1.--Continued

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change
			Non-Negro						
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	1.98	1.91	-0.07	1.53	1.60	0.07	1.59	1.38	-0.21
Salaried	11.19	14.62	3.43	7.80	10.41	2.61	6.78	7.63	0.85
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	9.93	13.76	3.83	8.57	13.79	5.22	8.99	10.51	1.52
Self-employed	7.82	4.16	-3.66	10.01	5.44	-4.57	9.44	4.68	-4.76
Clerical and kindred workers	6.10	5.64	-0.46	6.51	6.24	-0.27	5.39	5.63	0.24
Sales workers									
Retail	1.42	1.49	0.07	1.57	1.80	0.23	1.27	2.09	0.82
Other	3.86	3.57	-0.29	3.56	3.17	-0.39	2.50	2.97	0.47
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	8.00	10.78	2.78	9.32	11.43	2.11	6.26	9.11	2.85
Construction	5.42	6.76	1.34	5.06	6.45	1.39	4.71	6.29	1.58
Other	7.50	4.54	-2.96	8.13	4.88	-3.25	6.87	3.82	-3.05
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	10.57	8.47	-2.10	8.67	8.36	-0.31	8.39	7.11	-1.28
Other	7.38	8.62	1.24	7.44	8.60	1.16	5.22	6.53	1.31
Service workers, including private household	3.75	4.10	0.35	5.04	4.27	-0.77	5.79	5.74	-0.05
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	1.61	1.12	-0.49	1.40	1.34	-0.06	1.81	1.18	-0.63
Other	3.27	2.26	-1.01	3.02	2.57	-0.45	2.65	2.82	0.17
Farmers and farm managers	4.82	2.52	-2.30	6.23	3.82	-2.41	8.31	5.31	-3.00
Farm laborers and foremen	1.06	0.79	-0.27	1.10	0.69	-0.41	1.38	1.09	-0.29
Other	4.34	4.90	0.56	5.04	5.15	0.11	12.65	16.11	3.46
Total	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00	
Number (1,000)	10,579	10,053		9,281	10,123		6,953	7,873	

Source: March 1962 OCG survey and March 1970 Current Population Survey (person tapes).

Table 2.--Estimated numbers of men in selected cohorts by race: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Age in 1970	35-44	45-54	55-64
	Negro		
March 1962	949	1,016	845
March 1970	1,030	956	710
Percent change 1962-1970	8.5%	-5.9%	-16.0%
	Non-Negro		
March 1962	9,925	10,505	8,832
March 1970	10,053	10,123	7,873
Percent change 1962-1970	1.3%	-3.6%	-10.9%

Source: March 1962 OCG survey and March 1970 Current Population Survey (person tapes). Estimated frequencies are in thousands.

Table 3.--Components of intercohort change in occupation distributions by age and race: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	(1)[a]	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
			Negro						
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	-0.05	0.60	-0.45	-0.02	0.05	0.11	0.12	-0.26	0.13
Salaried	2.47	-2.22	2.27	-0.13	0.47	1.43	-0.05	-0.04	1.89
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	-0.33	0.60	1.95	-0.08	0.11	0.94	0.16	-0.13	0.49
Self-employed	-0.24	0.34	-0.04	0.05	0.46	-1.88	-0.04	0.17	2.86
Clerical and kindred workers	-0.96	3.32	-2.45	0.60	-0.81	4.01	0.19	-0.88	1.27
Sales workers									
Retail	1.01	-1.07	-0.79	-0.02	0.01	0.27	0.00	0.00	0.44
Other	0.00	0.00	0.76	-0.03	0.05	-0.26	0.00	0.00	0.17
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	-0.54	0.23	4.65	0.13	-0.20	3.40	-0.05	0.25	5.49
Construction	0.04	-0.76	2.22	-0.43	0.18	4.38	0.27	-0.59	1.25
Other	0.55	-1.27	-1.09	-0.64	1.13	-1.71	0.01	0.11	0.71
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	1.58	-0.17	1.24	1.60	-0.87	0.24	0.23	-0.18	-2.15
Other	-0.26	-0.59	3.33	-0.73	0.04	2.76	0.98	-1.27	3.04
Service workers, including private household	-1.00	3.06	-8.02	0.00	-0.80	-3.59	0.41	1.30	-7.70
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	0.22	-0.62	1.12	-0.49	0.72	-3.49	0.47	0.43	-0.53
Other	-1.57	0.10	-3.54	-0.87	0.20	-4.84	-1.34	1.66	-5.14
Farmers and farm managers	-0.78	-0.70	-1.42	-0.34	-0.11	-2.34	0.02	-0.16	-2.09
Farm laborers and foremen	-0.36	-0.58	-1.13	-0.20	-0.02	-1.28	-0.25	-0.40	-2.19
Other	0.24	-0.28	1.36	1.60	-0.59	1.86	-1.14	0.00	2.07

(continued)

Table 3.-- Continued

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	(1)[a]	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
			Non-Negro						
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	0.11	0.37	-0.55	0.06	-0.09	0.10	-0.03	0.00	-0.18
Salaried	0.73	0.52	2.18	0.40	0.45	1.76	0.17	-0.28	0.96
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	0.21	0.27	3.35	0.27	-0.21	5.16	0.26	-0.34	1.60
Self-employed	-0.08	0.09	-3.67	-0.01	0.21	-4.77	0.01	0.50	-5.27
Clerical and kindred workers	0.16	-0.34	-0.28	0.10	-0.22	-0.15	0.14	-0.15	0.25
Sales workers									
Retail	0.02	-0.03	0.08	0.00	-0.03	0.26	0.03	-0.10	0.89
Other	0.14	-0.10	-0.33	0.14	-0.14	-0.38	0.16	-0.13	0.44
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	0.15	-0.34	2.97	0.12	0.30	1.69	0.25	-0.15	2.75
Construction	-0.25	0.01	1.58	-0.14	0.09	1.44	-0.06	0.29	1.35
Other	-0.09	0.15	-3.02	-0.06	0.09	-3.28	0.05	0.17	-3.27
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	-0.11	-0.26	-1.73	0.01	0.05	-0.37	0.03	-0.04	-1.27
Other	-0.17	-0.15	1.56	-0.07	-0.13	1.36	0.09	0.01	1.21
Service workers, including private household	0.12	-0.16	0.39	0.05	-0.01	-0.81	0.03	0.06	-0.14
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	0.04	-0.03	-0.50	-0.04	0.03	-0.05	-0.06	0.08	-0.65
Other	-0.11	0.06	-0.96	-0.04	-0.09	-0.32	-0.02	0.01	0.18
Farmers and farm managers	-0.79	0.04	-1.55	-0.65	-0.22	-1.54	-0.86	-0.02	-2.12
Farm laborers and foremen	-0.13	-0.04	-0.10	-0.07	-0.10	-0.24	-0.13	0.04	-0.20
Other	0.04	-0.07	0.61	-0.04	0.02	0.13	-0.08	0.09	3.45

Note: Source is March 1962 OCG survey and March 1970 Current Population Survey (person tapes). [a]Components are (1) changes in occupational origin; (2) changes in the transition from father's occupation to first job and (3) changes in the transition from first job to current occupation.

Table 4.--Indexes of dissimilarity representing components of intercohort change in occupation distributions by age and race: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Component of intercohort change	35-44	45-54	55-64
	Negro		
Occupational origin	6.1	4.0	2.9
Transition from father's occupation to first job	8.3	3.4	3.9
Transition from first job to current occupation	18.9	19.4	19.8
Sum of components	33.3	26.8	26.6
Total intercohort change 1962-1970	18.7	20.3	18.0
	Non-Negro		
Occupational origin	1.7	1.1	1.2
Transition from father's occupation to first job	1.5	1.2	1.2
Transition from first job to current occupation	12.7	11.9	13.1
Sum of components	15.9	14.3	15.6
Total intercohort change 1962-1970	13.6	12.9	13.3

Source: Tables 1 and 2.

Table 5.--Percentage point differences between Negro and Non-Negro occupation distributions by age: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change	1962	1970	Change
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	1.79	1.62	-0.17	1.25	1.18	-0.07	1.33	1.13	-0.20
Salaried	8.87	9.78	0.91	6.59	7.43	0.84	4.81	3.86	-0.95
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	8.65	10.26	1.61	7.72	11.97	4.25	8.18	9.18	1.00
Self-employed	6.08	2.36	-3.72	7.12	3.92	-3.20	8.92	1.17	-7.75
Clerical and kindred workers	-0.80	-1.17	-0.37	2.57	-1.50	-4.07	3.25	2.91	-0.34
Sales workers									
Retail	0.37	1.29	0.92	1.37	1.34	-0.03	1.27	1.65	0.38
Other	3.86	2.81	-1.05	3.32	3.17	-0.15	2.50	2.80	0.30
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	4.14	2.58	-1.56	6.10	4.88	-1.22	5.50	2.66	-2.84
Construction	1.25	1.09	-0.16	3.16	0.42	-2.74	1.30	1.95	0.65
Other	2.63	1.48	-1.15	4.77	2.74	-2.03	4.68	0.80	-3.88
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	-1.56	-6.31	-4.75	-1.88	-3.16	-1.28	-0.15	0.67	0.82
Other	-1.75	-2.99	-1.24	-4.81	-5.72	-0.91	-3.80	-5.24	-1.44
Service workers, including private household	-10.01	-3.70	6.31	-10.44	-6.82	3.62	-12.73	-6.79	5.94
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	-4.21	-5.42	-1.21	-5.69	-2.49	3.20	-1.93	-2.93	-1.00
Other	-15.81	-11.81	4.00	-14.38	-9.32	5.06	-12.10	-7.11	4.99
Farmers and farm managers	1.42	2.02	0.60	1.99	2.37	0.38	3.97	3.20	-0.77
Farm laborers and foremen	-3.12	-1.32	1.80	-2.60	-1.51	1.09	-5.54	-2.99	2.55
Other	-1.77	-2.53	-0.76	-6.14	-8.90	-2.76	-9.46	-6.93	2.53

Source: Table 1.

Table 6.--Percentage point differences between Negro and Non-Negro components of intercohort change in occupation distributions by age: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Occupation	35-44			45-54			55-64		
	(1)[a]	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Professional, technical, and kindred workers									
Self-employed	0.16	-0.23	-0.10	0.08	-0.14	-0.01	-0.15	0.26	-0.31
Salaried	-1.74	2.74	-0.09	0.53	-0.02	0.33	0.22	-0.24	-0.93
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm									
Salaried	0.54	-0.33	1.40	0.35	-0.32	4.22	0.10	-0.21	1.11
Self-employed	0.16	-0.25	-3.63	-0.06	-0.25	-2.89	0.05	0.33	-8.13
Clerical and kindred workers	1.12	-3.66	2.17	-0.50	0.59	-4.16	-0.05	0.73	-1.02
Sales workers									
Retail	-0.99	1.04	0.87	0.02	-0.04	-0.01	0.03	-0.10	0.45
Other	0.14	-0.10	-1.09	0.17	-0.19	-0.12	0.16	-0.13	0.27
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	0.69	-0.57	-1.68	-0.01	0.50	-1.71	0.30	-0.40	-2.74
Construction	-0.29	0.75	-0.64	0.29	-0.09	-2.94	-0.33	0.88	0.10
Other	-0.64	1.42	-1.93	0.58	-1.04	-1.57	0.04	0.06	-3.98
Operatives and kindred workers									
Manufacturing	-1.69	-0.09	-2.97	-1.59	0.92	-0.61	-0.20	0.14	0.88
Other	0.09	0.44	-1.77	0.66	-0.17	-1.40	-0.89	1.28	-1.83
Service workers, including private household	1.12	-3.22	8.41	0.05	0.79	2.78	-0.38	-1.24	7.56
Laborers, except farm and mine									
Manufacturing	-0.18	0.59	-1.62	0.45	-0.69	3.44	-0.53	-0.35	-0.12
Other	1.46	-0.04	2.58	0.83	-0.29	4.52	1.32	-1.65	5.32
Farmers and farm managers	-0.01	0.74	-0.13	-0.31	-0.11	0.80	-0.88	0.14	-0.03
Farm laborers and foremen	0.23	0.54	1.03	0.13	-0.08	1.04	0.12	0.44	1.99
Other	-0.20	0.21	-0.75	-1.64	0.61	-1.73	1.06	0.09	1.38

Note: Source is Table 2. Components are (1) changes in occupational origin; (2) changes in the transition from father's occupation to first job and (3) changes in the transition from first job to current occupation.

Table 7.--Sums of positive percentage point differences between Negro and Non-Negro components of change in occupation distributions by age: U.S. men in the civilian noninstitutional population, March 1962 and March 1970

Component of intercohort change	35-44	45-54	55-64
Occupational origin	5.7	4.1	3.4
Transition from father's occupation to first job	8.4	3.4	4.3
Transition from first job to current occupation	16.4	17.1	19.1
Sum of components	30.5	24.6	26.8
Total intercohort change 1962-1970	16.2	18.4	19.2

Source: Tables 4 and 5.

Table 8.--Percentage point differences between March 1970 occupation distributions of Negroes and distributions expected from 1962 occupational mobility matrices of Non-Negroes

	Intergeneration mobility			Intrageneration mobility		
	35-44	45-54	55-64	35-44	45-54	55-64
Professional, technical, and kindred workers						
Self-employed	-0.88	-0.24	-0.70	-1.62	-0.07	-0.36
Salaried	-4.39	-2.14	-0.84	-3.41	-2.00	0.61
Manager, officials and proprietors, exc. farm						
Salaried	-4.54	-4.00	-5.55	-4.22	-4.18	-5.36
Self-employed	-5.33	-7.37	-4.48	-5.79	-6.47	-5.77
Clerical and kindred workers	0.53	1.71	-3.08	1.30	2.88	-0.66
Sales workers						
Retail	-1.26	-1.01	-0.83	-1.16	-1.08	-0.73
Other	-1.72	-2.49	-1.57	-2.36	-2.35	-1.04
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers						
Manufacturing	-0.21	-2.43	1.09	-0.47	-2.45	0.50
Construction	0.09	0.44	-1.01	0.31	0.30	-1.82
Other	-4.28	-7.41	-4.45	-4.81	-7.39	-4.40
Operatives and kindred workers						
Manufacturing	1.89	2.06	-2.53	2.05	1.68	-2.73
Other	3.67	6.03	5.87	3.89	6.17	5.07
Service workers, including private household	3.10	5.02	5.70	2.88	4.00	5.21
Laborers, except farm and mine						
Manufacturing	4.42	1.76	1.51	4.41	1.78	1.58
Other	9.93	7.42	6.53	10.28	8.04	6.29
Farmers and farm managers	-4.98	-6.41	-8.21	-3.81	-6.64	-7.82
Farm laborers and foremen	0.70	0.62	2.40	1.04	0.66	2.08
Other	3.22	8.44	10.15	1.46	7.13	9.35
Index of dissimilarity	27.6	33.5	33.3	27.6	32.6	30.7

Source: March 1962 OCG Survey and March 1970 Current Population Survey (person tapes).